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URBAN AFFAIRS

BIG CITY MAYORS

The Crisis in Urban Politics

Edited by Leonard I. Ruchelman

In the contemporary context of urgency and anxiety created by the confrontation of the American democratic system with urban rioting and racial polarization, Mr. Ruchelman presents selected articles that explore the many dimensions of the key office of mayor. He directs attention to the elected executives of America's largest cities, such as New York, Chicago, and Los Angeles, because it is there that the obligations of leadership are most awesome. Cavanagh of Detroit, Curley of Boston, Lindsay of New York, Maier of Milwaukee, and Yorty of Los Angeles are represented by their own statements. Many others are studied in depth by such political observers as Alex Gottfried, Arthur Mann, William F. Buckley, Nat Hentoff, and Richard Reeves. A particularly interesting conclusion to be drawn from these articles is that despite the real evils of old-style machine politics, the political bosses did govern; they did involve working men and the poor in the political process; and they did make provision for the future—though often primarily their own. These things have rarely been accomplished by the reformers who occasionally have ousted the bosses, and are proving beyond the reach of many of the new breed of clean-living professional administrators lately come to office. With few exceptions, slums, unemployment, obsolescence, squalor, and record tax rates have become typical features of the urban landscape. The recent explosiveness of America's ghettos gives warning that time is running out, and the nation's mayors, ultimately, are the men who must provide for the cities' survival. This book provides a definitive exposition of what may be the single most important political office in America today.

LEONARD I. RUCHELMAN is Associate Professor of Political Science at Lehigh University and a participant in Lehigh's Urban Studies Program. His articles in political science have been published in various scholarly journals.

384 pages

cloth \$12.50 paper \$4.95

NOW IS THE TIME

Integration in the Berkeley Schools

By Neil V. Sullivan with Evelyn S. Stewart

On September 10, 1968, Berkeley, California, became the first American city with a population of more than 100,000 with a large minority-group enrollment to integrate its schools completely. The basic mixing technique, carried out under Mr. Sullivan's direction, was to bus black children to predominantly white schools in affluent Berkeley hills and to bus white children to black schools in the ghetto. Despite some initial confusion connected with the transporting of 3,500 children to new schools—one bus arrived at the wrong school—there was no consequential trouble. In a telegram to Mr. Sullivan, United States Education Commissioner Harold Howe stated, "You have struck a blow for justice that will have an impact far beyond the limits of Berkeley." Mr. Sullivan and Mrs. Stewart here report the struggle of Berkeley's "do it yourself" community accomplishment in a state uncommitted to school integration.

The new program includes some educational innovations. The curriculum has been rewritten to make it relevant to the students' lives. Black history is emphasized for all pupils, and African history is taught at the high school level. Help centers have been added to the middle schools and counselors made available to students at all times. Learning labs have been established in which students can explore new dimensions in subject matter under the guidance of teachers, and Berkeley now has the lowest pupil-to-teacher ratio in the state. An exciting and challenging account of the previously unproved thesis that integration does work. In the words of a Berkeley elementary pupil, "It's no big thing."

NEIL V. SULLIVAN, formerly superintendent of schools in Berkeley, California, is Commissioner of Education for the state of Massachusetts. He is author of *Bound for Freedom* and contributor to *Poverty in America* and the *Journal of Negro Education Yearbook*, as well as such periodicals as *The Nation*, *National Education Journal*, and *Saturday Review*.

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RURAL POVERTY AND THE URBAN CRISIS

A Strategy for Regional Development

By Niles M. Hansen

This new approach to crucial problems in our national economy should have a strong impact on public thinking. Mr. Hansen outlines a policy for dealing with various lagging rural regions—Appalachia, the South, the Ozarks, southern Texas, Indian reservations, and other pockets of poverty—and relates it to a simultaneous attack on the national problems of urban crisis and unemployment. He begins by surveying in economic terms these various regions of the United States, then describes and evaluates what various governmental agencies are currently doing to alleviate conditions there, and concludes that their policies are generally ineffective. The real flaw in our current approach to rural poverty, Mr. Hansen believes, is not so much that it neglects costs considerations or that it fails to specify overall priorities, but that it seems too concerned with places, rather than with the people left behind.

Mr. Hansen argues that it is futile for agencies to seek to attract industry to underdeveloped rural areas, since most industries want and need the facilities of large cities. A more effective policy, he believes, would be to focus development assistance on the opportunities in "intermediate centers"—cities of 200,000 to 500,000—with good records and prospects of growth. The surplus population of lagging regions should then be encouraged to move to these centers, and government aid should be available to facilitate the process of adjustment and change. Families who want to migrate should be offered a varied program of assistance including education, vocational training, and a coordinated national employment service, as well as counseling and monetary help.

Mr. Hansen's proposals are controversial but his ideas are solidly based on economic analysis. *Rural Poverty and the Urban Crisis* makes a persuasive case for a fresh approach to our economic maladies. It is a valuable contribution to the field of regional and urban development and will be of interest to concerned laymen as well as to economists and those involved with urban planning.

NILES M. HANSEN, Director of the Center for Economic Development and Professor of Economics at the University of Texas at Austin, is author of *French Regional Planning*. His articles on urban and rural planning have appeared in publications both in the United States and abroad.

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THE IDEA OF THE CITY IN ROMAN THOUGHT

From Walled City to Spiritual Commonwealth

By Lidia Storoni Mazzolani

Translated by S. O'Donnell

A new and brilliant contribution to the history of ideas, this book traces the course of an idea through the history of Roman thought—the idea of the City, considered not as a political or legal institution, but rather as a design for a society in which men could live together. The author's canvas is a large one, giving us a broad sweep from the earliest times of the Roman Republic down to St. Augustine's City of God.

For citizens of the small original settlement that was Rome, the city-state was restricted in scope and identified primarily as the home of the national gods. New universalist ideas, coming from the eastern Mediterranean during the third century B. C., gave birth to the idea of the Great City as the common homeland of all humanity. Although these doctrines were opposed by the patrician guardians of tradition, they gradually prevailed, and under Augustus the institutions of the city-state were extended to the magnitude of the Empire and the walls of the city widened to embrace the entire Roman world. During the disintegration that followed, a new concept began to evolve—the Christian idea of a City of Light, immovable and outside history. After the barbaric flood had swept over Rome, this idea re-emerged in St. Augustine's city of God, a new ideal plan which, though radically different from past cities, bore an unconscious heritage from the earthly city of Rome.

The author makes a fascinating analysis of the peculiar situation which lies at the root of this book: the fact that a Roman went on thinking of himself as the citizen of a city-state even after that city-state had become a large national and supra-national state and then a vast international complex. She shows that the consequences of this frame of mind were many and included both lofty achievements and an appalling series of cruelties and injustices. She breathes new life into the facts of ancient history—documenting her interpretations with copious illustrations from contemporary sources—and suggests some thought-provoking parallels to our modern experience.

LIDIA STORONI MAZZOLANI was born in Rome where she studied classics and took a degree in history. She has contributed to a number of periodicals, reviewed books for *La Stampa*, and translated several English works into Italian. The Italian edition of this book won the Viareggio Prize awarded for a distinguished first publication.

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THE CHILDREN OF FRANKENSTEIN

A Primer on Modern Technology and Human Values

Herbert J. Muller

"Just what has modern technology done to as well as for people?" is the central question of this original and provocative book by the distinguished author of *The Uses of the Past*. As Mr. Muller points out, technology "has profoundly affected people in innumerable ways—their environment, their work, their possessions, their desires, their daily habits, their recreation, their language, their modes of thinking, their notion of what is natural." It is also clear that technology has brought both a wealth of real benefits and many plain evils—including the appalling absurdity that man's "progress" now enables him to put an end to his civilization. What, then, are the specific social and cultural consequences of technology, particularly as they have to do with human issues—with the question of whether we can control our terrific technology by civilized conceptions of the good life?

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about them. In a final section, "Toward the Year 2000," he considers the current revulsion against utopianism, examines the forecasts of the future made by various scientists and specialists, and probes the ultimate issue raised by the question of "human nature." He places final emphasis upon our growing awareness of conflicts, the persistent criticism of our society, and the willingness of human beings to accept challenges; in these, he believes, lies hope for the children of Frankenstein.

Mr. Muller's survey of the impact of science and technology on society and culture is always penetrating and carefully documented. In support of his contentions he quotes the findings of other writers—including Herman Kahn, Hannah Arendt, Robert Oppenheimer, Clark Kerr, Jacques Barzun, C. P. Snow, Marshall McLuhan, Lewis Mumford, David Riesman, Herbert Marcuse, Jacques Ellul, and Dwight McDonald. A brilliant synthesis of our world by a pre-eminent scholar of today.

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HERBERT J. MULLER, Distinguished Service Professor of English and Government at Indiana University, is author of *The Spirit of Tragedy*, *Freedom in the Ancient World* (winner of the Phi Beta Kappa book award), *Religion and Freedom in the Modern World* (winner of the Frederic G. Melcher book award), *The Individual in a Revolutionary World*, and many other books.

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